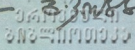


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OUR PATH

Organ of political and public opinion in the Georgian language with English resumes

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1954
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

In English

In Georgian

	Page	Editorial
Editorial — G. K.	1	Jona Meunargia by Gr. Diassamidse
The balance of Power by V. Nanuaszwili	4	The Military and Politaly Importance of the Caucasus b. V. Nanuaszwili
Noy Jordania by VL. Arveladse (Speech)	8	Noy Jordania A speech delivered by Vladimir Arveladse in New York, February 7, 1954.
Declaration of the Independence of Georgia with Noy Jordania's Speech	9	Editorial from "Hairenik Weekly", November 19, 1953.
The Ukrainian Urecedent — 300 Years of Sub- jugation by Dr. G. A. Kobachidse	12	Translation from English in Georgian.
The Voice of Armenians by S. Gashonia & G. Gogoberidse	15	Conference of Four Foreign Ministers in Berlin. by S. Gashonia.
Editorial from "Hairenik Weekly", November 19, 1953.	16	Chronicle.
A Short Survay of the Georgian Press by V. Abaszidse & A. Soulhan	17	
Letter sent to Hon. John Foster Dulles by VL. Arveladse	18	

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MARCH, 1954.

EDITORIAL

We are not Bolsheviks to make the people happy in words and to crush them in deeds. We are not Tolstoyans so as not to resist evil.

N. Jordania

The recent events in Georgia have compelled the entire world and especially the free world which is following with attention the developments in the Soviet Union, to pay attention to this country. In the last two years there have taken place in Georgia bloody purges (4 in two years). Every one knows that Georgia was the birthplace of Stalin and Beria. Unfortunately the country is often thought of only in connection with the names of these bloody tyrants, and, if we may so say, it has become known only for its connection with them. Yet it is wrong to begin the study of the history of this country and to think in general of it in connection the names of these two men. Every Georgian patriot feels very keenly the injustice of framing the question in this way.

The history of Georgia is so rich and interesting and its role in the ancient and modern world, — thanks to its geographical position — is so important that we must consider it. But some 50 years ago Bolshevism appeared on the theatre of universal history and since then the Bolshevik empire has seized a third of the entire world and involuntarily the figure of Stalin as the man who was responsible for the creation of this empire, has attracted universal attention and this has raised the question of his origin.

Any one who is familiar even to a slight degree with the lives and activities of Stalin, Beria, and the other Georgian renegades, will at once notice that all their lives they served not the cause of Georgia but the cause of Bolshevism and world communism. So the Georgian people has had no sympathy for them. On the contrary the Georgian people have considered Stalin and Beria as the destroyers of all the spiritual and cultural values which they have built up through the centuries.

The arrest of Beria startled the world and many people were surprised at the rapid disappearance

of this all powerful and strong bloody tyrant, but in the "Soviet paradise" there is no reason to be surprised, if any one studies this "paradise" from all sides. The great police chiefs, Yagoda and Yezhov, disappeared in the same way as Beria in 1936-38.

Stalin with the aid of the Georgian Beria and other Russian and non-Russian Bolshevik friends broadened the boundaries of the empire of red Russia and made them wider than the Russian emperors had ever dreamed of acquiring. Stalin, the red emperor of red Russia, definitely surpassed the emperors of white Russia. The monarchists, democrats and other Russian political parties willingly accept all this territory and will never give it up, even after the downfall of the Bolshevik empire but will hold it in their own hands. The Russian emigrants are quibbling when they talk of the downfall of the empire of red Russia but this is only a fancy! When in February, 1917, the tsarist regime fell and in October of the same year the democratic Provisional Government passed from the scene, Russia was reduced to its ethnographical boundaries under Bolshevism. Under the Bolshevik-Communist regime was set up under the Russian leader Vladimir Lenin. Thus Bolshevism won its first victories within the border of ethnographic Russia.

When the empire of white Russia fell apart, many nations were liberated, became independent and entered the family of free nations. There were set up independent nations in the Caucasus, in the Baltic region, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland etc. Once these were formed as states they were recognized by all the great powers.

Unfortunately this period of happiness did not long endure for them. Red Russia under Lenin started to restore the old boundaries and to compel the populations to accept the Bolshevik faith. Between 1918 and 1921, with the exception of the Baltic states and Poland, red Russia seized all the free republics which had been set up in 1917 within the boundaries of the empire of Russia. This was the beginning of the imperialistic policy

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საქართველოს ავტონომიური დემოკრატიული რესპუბლიკის განმარტველობის კავშირების სამდივო

of red Russia. In 1922 along with the foundation of the Soviet Union there appeared the red empire. To the Russian empire of Lenin, Stalin added in 1939-41, the Baltic states, Western Ukraine (Galicia), Carpathian Rus, Bukovyna and Bessarabia. At the end of World War II the red Russian empire took over Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Czecho-Slovakia, East Prussia and the eastern part of Germany. In 1949 there passed under Russian control red China, red Manchuria, northern Korea and other lands of the east. **So grew the empire of red Russia from 1917 to 1949.** Undoubtedly this appetite for conquest will not quickly disappear of itself. On the contrary it will become more insatiable and reach out for the conquest of the entire world, which has been shown and is being shown to be the definite dream of the Russian land. This is no insult for Russian Prestige. Where there was the old White Russian empire, there has now been formed with wider boundaries the red Russian Empire!

Russian men of affairs both in the the Soviet Union and outside its boundaries often cannot refrain from anger and consider themselves insulted by the fact that Stalin was not a Russian. But why should this astonish any one who is well acquainted with Russian history? Russia has frequently had at its head persons of non-Russian origin but they were all devoted to the Russian interests and those interests were the extension of the boundaries of Russia.

The foreigners at the head of Russia often fought against those peoples from which they themselves had come. They carried on this struggle consciously and seriously for it served the imperial interests. Ivan IV (the Terrible) did not hide but was proud of his German origin. This did not prevent him from being a purely Russian ruler. Empress Catherine II and her husband Peter III were of German origin (Peter III was the son of Duke Karl Friedrich of Holstein) and his descendants were not Romanovs but Holsteins. This did not prevent them from being real heads of the Russian state or from fulfilling the imperial obligations of Russia. Catherine II fought with Prussia and it never entered her head that she was fighting against her own people. Nicholas II, a descendant of the Holsteins in 1914 fought against Germany and there is no doubt that he never thought that he was fighting against his own people.

We know that among the leading Russians in the 18th century there were many Germans — field marshals, generals, professors. The leading men of the state, senators, ministers, governors, were often real Germans. The same situation

prevailed in the 19th century, but they were loyal to the Russian empire.

This has happened in other countries and especially in the case of the great French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. He was a Corsican (an Italian) and in his youth was an ardent patriot and worked for an independent Corsica. Yet in time, when he became emperor of France, he forgot his Corsica and began to persecute the Corsican patriots like Stalin who acted against his fellow countrymen, the Georgians. Stalin likewise in his youth wrote patriotic poems and during Lenin's revolution some on the freedom of his own people but the feeling for power overcame his feelings of patriotism. Like Napoleon he thought only of the greatness of that state of which fate had made him the head. It is reported that Napoleon in anger and excitement used to forget French and curse in Italian. It is interesting that people who knew Stalin personally assert that under the same conditions he cursed in Georgian. Yet this did not prevent the Georgian or the Frenchman from serving the interests of his adopted country.

Georgian history there are many interesting facts. When the Georgian dynasty of the nebrothids died out in the end of the 3rd century, the Georgians turned to the Persian dynasty of Chosroes (the Sassanids) and asked that the new-born son should take over the Georgian throne and this was done. When he grew up, was a true ruler of Georgia. During his reign Georgia accepted Christianity from Nina of Capadocia. Mirian (that was his name), fought against the old Iranian religion, Mazdeism in behalf of Christianity, because he new that this was necessary in the interests of Georgia. The descendant of the first Georgian Christian ruler Mirian ruled for almost two centuries. All these rulers, especially Vakhtang I — (460-488) worked with full devotion for the interests of the Georgian state, and often fought against the Iranian conquerors without paying any attention to their own Iranian origin.

In the 11th century when Armenia because of unfavorable circumstances lost its independence 1044, it had to ask help from the neighboring Georgian Kingdom and during the next centuries many of its sons served the Georgian state without thinking of their own family connections and even became Georgians, as example the Mkhargrdzels.

On the other hand, the Georgians showed themselves able administrators and public officials in the field of foreign affairs. It is sufficient to say that the Georgians filled high posts in Turkey and Persia. The rulers of these countries not

rarely placed them at the head of their armed forces and included them in their ranks. Georgians were often appointed governor generals, pashas, begs, ministers. All of these officials were not regarded as in the service of Georgia and often went against the interests of Georgia. In tsarist Russia the Georgians held important military posts. In the course of a century the Georgians gave Russia about 300 outstanding Russian generals. The well known Peter Bagration fell in the War of 1812. Another general Pavel Zizianov (Zizishvili) aided in the union of Georgia to Russia and was killed in Baku in 1806.

In 1917 after the February revolution in the government Georgians ventered the government of A. F. Kerensky, mostly know I. G. Tsereteli (now in USA). In red Russia, many Georgians held high posts. We only need to mention Stalin — Drugashvili, Sergey Orzhonidze, L. P. Beria and others. As we have said, these men served not their own country but the red empire just as once the German renegades served tsarist Russia and the Georgians Turkey or Persia. For that reason it would be wrong to mention their nationality and their national origin is completely without importance, and valueless.

The Soviet state apparatus is an extremely complex phenomenon and is so constructed that it can mechanically eliminate all who fail in its ramifying growth and it is very easy to fail (in the "Soviet paradise". The Soviet leaders push one another into the wheels of this machine and those remain on top who prove themselves the cleverer in standing it. Stalin, as we know, succeeded and removed all his opponents and thus asserted his domination. The modern successor to Stalin, Malenkov, has not shown himself a failure; so far he has freed himself from the venomous influence of L. Beria. The future will show whether Malenkov or some one else will go the way of Beria.

The fall of Beria was noticeably important. We have to ask whether his arrest was the result of anti-Georgian moods. There were many signs of anti-Georgian and anti-national phenomena. Along with Beria there were arrested and annihilated General Merkulov — a Georgianized Greek reared in Georgia an known by the Georgian people and Dekanozov (Dekanozigivili), a russified Georgian who while in Georgia learned the Georgian language and passed as a Georgian. Others — Goglidze and Kobulov were Georgians too.

Of the seven who were arrested, five were Georgians and two, Ukrainians — Meshyg and Vlodzimirsky. It is noteworthy that among them there was not a single Russian. Therefore the

assertion of some people that there existed a chauvinistic tendency in the case cannot be easily refuted. Georgia and Ukraine even during the tsarist regime and since have struggled with surprising energy against Russian imperialism, since their national self-consciousness had been formed in the classical manner. And now the purges taking place by the Kremlin's orders are especially savage in their attitude toward Georgia and Ukraine.

Beria and his associates from the very beginning were the enemies of the Georgian people and carried on in Georgia the imperialistic policy of red Russia. They were all selected by Moscow and sent to Georgia to hold high posts since they had already showed themselves renegades and therefore in the usual manner of renegades they mercilessly trampled upon the Georgian national interests. Moscow never trusted in Georgia the actual Georgian patriots. It relied exclusively upon the renegade element in whom the last feeling of love for their country had vanished and who on the contrary had shown themselves ready to drown their own people in their own blood.

These five Georgian renegades during a number of years fulfilled steadily the orders of the Kremlin in regard to Georgia. Throug their activity there perished in Georgia several tens of thousands of the best Georgian patriots of all classes.

Beria and his associates savagely suppressed in Georgia a series of larger and smaller urisings (1922, 1924, 1926, 1931-2, 1937, 1940, etc.). On the order of Stalin Beria annihilated not only the patriots but also an entire group of idealistic communists with a national tendency. These national communists were against the interperence of Moscow in Georgian affairs and called for the independence of Soviet Georgia. This trend involuntarily reminds us of a similarity to the situation in Tito's Yugoslavia.

The first deviation of the Georgian communists took place immediately after the occupation of Georgia by the Bolsheviks, i. e. in 1921. Then they started an energetic opposition to Moscow and demanded the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Georgia. Moscow answered with the most bloody repressions and by force Georgia was included in the Union of Soviet Republics which was formed 1922.

The Georgian Communists who desired the separation of the Georgian republic from the Soviet Union long kept this idea in their hearts. In 1937 this group was finally liquidated by the Bolsheviks. Beria shot the old Communists, Budu Mdivani, Malakia Toroshelidze, Levon Gogoberidze, Shalva Eliava, German Mgaloblishvili, Mikha

Kakhiani, Mamiya Orkhelashvili and others.

The executioners of the day, Beria and his friends, have been later annihilated by the same methods which they themselves had used. Outwardly Moscow showed confidence in the Georgian renegades but inwardly it still did not trust them. That is the nature of imperialists. Tsarist Russia likewise never fully trusted the loyalist element which had taken the oath of loyalty to the tsarist throne. For example, the well known Georgian figure, the Provincial Leader of the Nobility Dimitry Ivanovich Kipianni was a loyal collaborator with the Russians but when he interceded for the unjustly slandered people of his country, the Russian government ordered his arrest and sent him to Stavropol where he was killed in his sleep by a murderer sent for the purpose. The Russian government never tolerated the slightest free thought and defence against unjust accusations. We need not speak of the attitude of the Bolshevik government for all know its intolerance, barbarism and heartlessness.

It is hard to say either L. Beria had committed any deviation in the national question of Georgia because of the lack of precise data. We boldly say that Beria with his accomplices perished because of the Bolshevik self-devouring system and policy.

The national question in the Soviet Union is very acute and calls for special consideration. The struggle with nationalism is going on by a completely different course than is the struggle for the highest positions. Beria was a dangerous rival for Malenkov and so the latter annihilated him as an obstacle and not as a Georgian. In the same way Stalin annihilated Trotsky, Zinoviev, Yagoda and others not as Jews but as dangerous rivals, exactly as he removed Pyatakov, Yezhov, Bukharin, etc., not as Russians but as opponents. Stalin shot Avely Enukidze, his fellow-countryman and teacher as an opponent.

That means that he did not consider the nationality of his opponent.

We involuntarily remember the word of Leo Trotsky, which he included in his book *Between Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 66: "We absolutely never say that it is impossible to be wily and to deceive. We hate our enemies or despise them, depending upon what they deserve. We kill or deceive — depending upon the situation, and even when we come to an agreement with them, we do not feel a flood of all embracing love."*)

This quotation excellently characterizes the Bolshevik morals. With the same cynicism the Bolsheviks deal not only with foreigners but with their own people. What can the free world expect such a system? It is a system which does not accept God, or the nation or the country or companionship, or friendship or the family and which rests upon terror, lies and falsehood. How long will the world deceive itself and not see the actual danger of this bloodthirsty Communism?

The Georgian people has well learned this definite Bolshevik morality and it considers Beria and his companions not as martyrs for the national idea. That would be an insult to those Georgian heroes who have fallen in the struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

"Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" (St. Matthew VII, v. 1-2), says the Holy Scriptures. So These words apply to Beria and his companions. The other tyrants will likewise not escape them!

G. K.

*) This quotation is from the article of I. Jr. Goldman, "Why Georgia was destroyed," in the journal *Zarya* — The Dawn, No. 2, May 18, 1922, Berlin, p. 46.)

V. Nanuaszwili

THE BALANCE OF POWER

The guns have been booming for a long time yet the world is in a state of official peace and does not want to recognize the bloody fighting as a war. Though the war is waged in the Far East, though the frontiers running through the streets of Berlin often attract the attention of the entire world, nevertheless the basic center of the bitter political conflict is located in the Middle East

which throughout the XIX century was never absent from the columns of the world press.

Before World War I the same inflammable points caused only local outbreaks and often their local settlement the world returned to full peace for long periods of time.

Today even a full settlement of each of these

problems absolutely cannot bring peace to the world.

The present state of affairs is described in various ways.

It is called cold war, rmistice etc., however it is most accurately defined by Lenin's diagnosis, or rather his wishful prescription: "Neither war — nor peace".

It must be admitted that this permanent state of seething is the most efficient method of undermining the world and plunging it into the greatest historical catastrophies.

The present state of "neither peace nor war" most efficaciously destroys all resources of the entire world, paralyzes its entire spiritual and material creativity, completely stops its development and brings the state of seeting to a maximum intensity.

Mankind was brought to the present difficult situation by a series of world wars which began in 1914.

Until that time the world enjoyed one of the longest periods of peace which extended from 1871 to 1914.

Nevertheless this period was not one of absolute peace. In this period there took place on the European continent the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and the Balkan war, and a number of colonial wars and conflicts in the Eastern hemisphere. Yet these wars had a purely local character and did not shake the whole world system like other wars which in the old continent caused basic of the political constellation.

Regardless of the wars mentioned, the period of 1871-1914 was for the world a period of the longest and almost absolute peace. In that period mankind won its greatest achievements in all spheres of life and the majority of European nations reached the greatest prosperity.

Two armed opposing camps were organized at that time in Europe: on one side the central powers, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and on the other Russia and France. Actually each of these camps was ground two continental powers competing with each other for domination over the old continent.

In addition there was Great Britain, the greatest naval power of the time and it was she who formed the actual basis of the balance of power.

This political constellation composed of three powerful masses, and the relative equilibrium of the armed forces on the continent gave the world this exceptional period of peace. Various phenomena contributed to this. The level of the military technology of the time was characterized by the fact that the value of armed forces was not subject to frequent oscillations.

The armed forces of all continental nations (excepting Belgium) were already based on universal obligatory service, however military leaders were not yet able to take into consideration the nationality structure of the respective states.

The majority of the models of infantry and artillery equipment dated from the nineties of the XIX century. They respectably served for two generations, honorably passed through World War I and some of them survived even until World War II.

Though the majority of European states themselves produced their own equipment, however the armed forces were not yet directly linked with the industry of their own country and did not feel a need of this close touch. The productive capacity and its economic potentialities did not yet form an object of the full consideration and planning of military headquarters.

This situation cannot even be called an armament race in the present sense of the word (though it was called by that name). Every nation could keep pace in this "race" and the armament equilibrium could be maintained for a considerable time without special effort.

Nations outside the range of the land forces of the continent, in view of the military technique of the time did not feel threatened at all and did not participate in the race of land armaments. Great Britain and the USA did not even introduce compulsory military service and were satisfied with small professional armies.

These phenomena supplied the basis for the longest peace period in modern history; it was an armed peace based on a balance of armaments.

In 1914, on the day of the outbreak of World War I, the last peace in the world was interrupted.

All nations and peoples which took part in that war had their own aims and ideals for whose realization they fought.

Unfortunately all this was only an initial elimination struggle between the two last representatives of continental imperialism who competed with each other for domination over that continent.

Eventually, after so many tragic conflicts there remained on the old continent only one last victorious representative of aggression USSR who prepares a military move to take advantage of the elimination struggle won by him. And this ultimate reward is to be world domination.

The entire political constellation has been completely overthrown and destroyed. The world, cut in two halves, shut itself off in two opposing camps: one is the aggressive imperialist camp of the old continent, the other the rest of the world defending its freedom.

The tormented world makes efforts to make

peace of this situation. The last prescription for the consolidation of the non-existing peace is to arm so as not to be for the adversary a tempting objective which may be achieved by an easy victory.

This principle seems entirely sound, however can it bring a radical solution in the problem?

The armed equilibrium in the XIX century gave mankind the longest and almost absolute peace. But equipment in keeping with XX century technical progress and an armament race under present circumstances can restrain an aggressor only for a very short time and are unable to secure armed peace.

In view of the present technical progress the best types of basic air force and panzer equipment as well as of land air means of transportation are useful for a very limited period, 4-5 years at best. After this time these types are already antiquated and cannot fight and adversary equipped with weapons of a newer type. Today equipment can no longer serve two generations as it did before World War I.

Today's equipment may restrain an aggressor from attack for one or two years. The world will be absolutely unable to endure further rearmament and a further armament race.

In this race the totalitarian side may endure somewhat longer. Not because it has a higher level of industry and productive capacity. By no means. In this respect it lags behind the democratic nations and will never overtake them. But the totalitarian side has reduced the low living standards of its citizens to the lowest possible level and from the legal and material points of view has brought them down to the state of livestock. The democratic nations cannot afford to do this and cannot prolong the armament race at such a cost.

Consequently no durable balance or a long peace can be achieved by armaments.

It that case what may be the result of the opposite measure, i. e. disarmament?

And precisely here mankind has reached a malicious paradox. The principles of armament are understood today in a modern way, but the principles of disarmament are still conceived archaically.

Disarmament on a world scale was envisaged in a twofold manner. One was voluntary, agreed upon and conditioned universal disarmament. The other — compulsory disarming of the defeated enemy.

Voluntary universal disarmament is an old theological dream. In view of the present technological level its realization would be a temporary expedient leading to disastrous results.

The present potentialities of industry make it possible to arm the largest nation in a very short time. If under those circumstances universal disarmament took place, the possession of weapons would become the monopoly of industrialized nations alone. Non-industrialized nations would be deprived of all means of defense.

Such a disarmament would lead to the uncontrolled world domination of two or three nations. The rest of the world would become a helpless object of division.

What are the results of unilateral enforced disarmament of a defeated enemy.

The present generation witnessed how a nation striving for world domination twice in succession suffered a crushing defeat, surrendered unconditionally and was "completely disarmed".

All its iron and steel equipment which it had pulled into the field were taken away from it, and military posts were temporarily placed in its industrial centers.

However all these radical means of making the defeated country harmless were unable to give even such a peace which sometimes a decent armistice could secure.

What would be the result of the application of similar measures with regard to the present pretender to world domination if he were defeated.

Throughout its history that nation suffered of chronic lack of armaments.

It passed through the most acute phase of this chronic ailment in 1915-1916 and 1941-42. Fearing the collapse of this clay giant the Allied nations began, in both cases, a violent transfusion of life energy in the form of equipment and supplies through all freezing and non-freezing ports.

The last injection was made in spite of the long and noisy publicity about the unprecedented development of war industry.

In spite of these chronic shortcomings, thanks to a chance combination of circumstances, that nation is today actually the last and victorious representative of the imperialism of the old continent and strives to dominate the entire world.

Let us for a moment imagine the disarmament of that nation in accordance with the present principles of disarmament and the results of such a step.

1) Taking away its equipment and the liquidation of its armed forces?

Absolutely superfluous. Already since 1904-5 it has become an enduring tradition of that nation that on every battlefield it leaves all the weapons in its possession in the hands of the enemy and surrenders to him the largest possible number of prisoners.

2) The second means is occupation of the de-

feated enemy's territories and placing guards in military objectives.

The entire territory of that nation can never be occupied even for such a period of time as the territories of the nations defeated in World War II and occupied by the Western states.

The application of these methods would make one more successive world conflict certain. It would only delay it for one period of arms production and of training a few new classes of men.

Today a single equipment of the armed forces of belligerents no longer determines the fate of war. This period has passed together with the era when professional armies existed.

What does the strength of these nations consist in which defeated so many times ever again start a new struggle for world domination? Can they be deprived of this strength or not?

Today a decisive role in the struggle, in a degree even greater than at any other time, is played by man himself, his own will, the living human mass, the productive capacity of the territory occupied by the belligerent, as well as by the strategic importance of those territories.

This phenomenon brings to the fore an entirely new element which by the very fact of its existence occupies a decisive place in the actual relationship of the world's political forces.

The world wars have demonstrated that no nation of the European continent striving for world domination would have been able to provoke such military upheavals and start a fight for world domination if it had at its disposal only its own ethnic manpower and economic resources derived exclusively from its own ethnic territory.

In all these wars the greatest role was played by the abused living human mass of the subjugated peoples, the productive potentialities of the ethnic territories of these peoples as well as the key importance of those areas.

Depriving the aggressive powers of the continent of this powerful weapon source is a subject of which until recently it has not been permitted to speak, and of which today one speaks reluctantly, while tomorrow facts may speak under very difficult circumstances.

The present primitive division of the globe into two parts and two opposing armed camps is a logical consequence of this historical development of events.

Today the only means of disarming and rendering harmless the force striving for world domination and threatening mankind is to eliminate from the war machine of the old continent's imperialism the powerful military reservoir represented by the subjugated nations, their living force, the produc-

tive capacity of their ethnic territories and their key strategic importance.

But without carrying out this kind of disarmament of the old continent's militarism political balance on a world scale and no durable peace can be achieved.

The course of historical events is underscored by one more detail. Already at the beginning of the series of world wars the totalitarian system appeared in Europe in its various shades. From then it was an inseparable element in the struggle for world domination.

Without a totalitarian system it is impossible to force large masses of the people to take upon themselves these absurd burdens and sacrifices which are necessary to achieve world domination for their oppressor.

A summing up of all these facts leads to very simple and concrete conclusions, viz.: the problem of the liberation of the subjugated nations can no longer be regarded as an internal question of some conqueror or other, or only as the concern of the nation fighting for its freedom. It is a universal matter without whose solution mankind will never see peace, will not be freed from the nightmare of world wars, unending armament and the phantom of totalitarianism.

The subjugated nations enter the political arena of the world as one inseparable category, as the third powerful element of the political constellation which provides the possibility of establishing durable balance.

Within the world framework of these events also our national problems may be solved. The Georgian people, like all other Caucasian peoples, is one of the elements of mankind which can establish world balance and durable peace.

The political development of events automatically raises the problem of Georgia and of all other Caucasian nations to a foremost rank.

Our recent history clearly shows that among the subjugated peoples each new political stage is first manifested in the life of the Caucasian nations. All political elements of both parts of the official world are well aware of this phenomenon.

Hence a clear task results for us. We must understand the significance and role of our common homeland, the Caucasus, of every individual Caucasian nation and of all subjugated peoples as one entity. We can quietly await the development of historical events because history gives us a voice in a decisive moment and place of the unprecedented world showdown.

V. Nanuaszwili

*) The Georgian Text of this article was published in Our Path №. 1-2, June-July, 1953.



NOY JORDANIA

(1868-1953)

A speech delivered by Vladimir Arveladse in
 New York, February 7, 1954.

(Printed in a summary.)

A year ago on January 11, 1953 there passed away Noy Jordania — the first elected president of independent democratic Georgia. Noy Jordania for almost 32 years without arrest, without slackening his hands, worked for the revival of the Georgian state. Unfortunately he did not succeed in freeing his country and he died in a foreign land many other patriots who fell in the struggle

for liberation. He left many collaborators who are continuing his national idea and will not give up his national struggle.

N. Jordania was a great patriot, a great thinker and a great humanist. He was a symbol of the Georgian national unity and the streetsman of the political national fate for almost a half century. He was the reformer for the laborers, he

worked out his own social and national program. That program the Georgian people recognized and began to actuate and if the Bolsheviks had not occupied Georgia, it would have been because of his program, and it would have been an advanced state politically and economically. He devoted his entire life to his country and he was always the servant of his people. His steel will and his sterling character became the symbols of the revival of the Georgian state in 1918. It was his persona-

lity which brought little Georgia out of the chaotic conditions which prevailed after the revolution of 1917. N. Jordania became the head of his people, because he saved them as a democratic republic and proved to the entire world that his country was not dead but rising like a phoenix. This was enough to make Noy Jordania immortal. Eternal memory to Noy Jordania and all glory to his everlasting work.

Declaration of the Independence of Georgia

From the Minutes of the First Session of the National Council of Georgia

In connection with the first anniversary of the death of Noe Nikolayevich Jordania, the first elected president of the independent, democratic republic of Georgia we are publishing in English the contents of the document proclaiming the independence of Georgia, which took place on May 26, 1918. On that day N. Jordania made a speech in which he expressed his ideas on a confederation of the states of the Caucasus. The document was printed in a special collection "Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia and Georgia," published in Tiflis in 1919 in Georgian and Russian (See the Russian edition, Chap. XIII, No. 164 and 165, pp. 332-339).

Sunday, May 26, 1918. Tiflis. The Palace

At the session are present 42 members and 36 candidates.

In the boxes and in the gallery a-a- is a large audience; representatives of the various nationalities, among whom is Count Schulenburg, commander of the German troops, accompanied by German officers. In the boxes there have taken their seats also Leonid, Metropolitan of Tiflis with his suite and Georgian officers.

The square in front of the Palace and the neighboring streets are crowded with people.

Over the roof of the Palace the Georgian flag has been hoisted. The wall against which the presiding officers are seated, is also decorated with two flags.

The presiding officers is the President of the Executive Committee of the National Soviet (Council) Noy Jordania.

The members of the Presidium are:

Georgi Laskhishvili
Grigory Veshapeli
Pavel Sakvarelidze

The duties of the Secretary are being performed by the Secretary of the National Soviet (Council), Ilya Zurabishvili.

The meeting opened at 4:50 P. M.

When the Presiding Officer takes his seat, the Council and the audience welcome him, with continuing stormy applause and give him an ovation.

The Opening of the Session. The Speech of the Presiding Officer:

The session of the National Soviet (Council) I declare open.

Citizens! To-day you have been witnesses here of a rare historical and yet a tragic event. In this hall one state has died*) and now in the same

*) N. N. Jordania was thinking of the dissolution of the Transcaucasia Federated Diet, of which was replaced by the proclamation of three independent republics — Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, which had been together previously in the Transcaucasian Diet. The Transcaucasian Federated Republic (with its diet) was formed April 9, 1918, and continued until May 26, 1918. On that day the Transcaucasian diet passed the following resolution: "In view of the fact that there has been shown on the question of war and peace such fundamental differences between the peoples who have created the independent Transcaucasian Republic and it has therefore become impossible to adopt a single authoritative government which can speak in the name of Transcaucasia, the Diet acknowledges the fact of the dissolution of Transcaucasia and lays down its powers." (Accepted by the majority of the votes with only two in the negative), May 26, 1918).

The same day this decision was officially transmitted to Berlin, Constantinople, Paris, Vienna, London, Rome, Washington, Moscow, Sofia, Tokio,



hall the foundation of a new state is being laid.

Between these two states, of which one has died and the other is being born, there could be no conflict of interests.

And if the first ever arises from the dead, we must be certain that between them there will always exist a harmony of interests. (Applause).

The new state of Georgia, which is being founded to-day, will not act against the interests of any nation, people, or state whatsoever.

Its object is to protect itself in the present historical storm.

And when this goal will be reached, it will move to the help of those who have met together with our country a great test. (Applause).

You know well that the struggle for existence is no new thing to Georgia; it has been struggling for centuries to preserve its spiritual character, its national organism and territory, but it has always been struggling for its existence and has not made a move against the existence of others.

In addition to this, it has been struggling not only for the Georgians but also for those peoples which have been living within its state boundaries.

I will say more — and outside of its boundaries it has been struggling also for the defence of others.

As its guiding principle the Georgian people has accepted this great historical example and in that is the reason that even to-day the Georgian people have preserved their basic historical endeavor — to harmonize their interests with the interests of other peoples.

And for that reason, not a single people, living in our country or beyond its boundaries, must feel any anxiety, spiritual sufferings or insult.

And have not the orators who have spoken to-day in the Diet declared that there is no people, which should have had relations with the Georgian people?

There must be no doubt that the new state, the new government, is fully justifying these hopes.

We wish to maintain friendly relations with the peoples living in our country or outside of it.

We are paying especial attention to the deep tragedy of that people, one portion of which is living on our territory, and another part outside of our boundaries.

That is the Armenian people.

The Georgians of the present day remember that old principle and the Armenian people will

find in us the same protection which they found under the Georgian tsars. (Continued applause).

We wish to have the relations of good neighbors with a people who form an important majority of the population of Transcaucasia — the Moham-medans. We would like them to follow our example — to found their own state and offer us the aid of union. (Violent applause).

Friendly relations with the peoples surrounding us will produce a firm basis on which our young state will grow strong, and also the neighboring states, and our common oponents will be derived of the possibility of defeating us and destroying our country.

Within the boundaries of our state there are living national minorities. We declare that our national minorities will enjoy as full rights as the national majority of our state — the Georgian people.

These peoples, united under a common banner, will conclude an alliance with the peoples living beyond the boundaries of our state, and in this way there will grow up a state bond which will establish again the state which has been destroyed here before our eyes. This state will be the Confederated Union of the Caucasus. (Continued applause through out the entire hall).

Our course, our ideal will lead to the formation of that Union. That Union will appear as a state organism — a Union of States — which by rallying around itself the common resources, will appear with a single will before the face of our foreign enemy and defend itself from it (Applause).

And then there will be brought about what the Diet could not create.

And then those who now unconsciously are striving to go beyond the boundaries of Transcaucasia — will perhaps again return to us and take their place under our common banner.

Then there will be brought about the unity of Transcaucasia and the powers of the peoples dwelling it will be strengthened. (Continued applause and ovations)."

Presiding Officer. Now are you prepared to pass to that business for which we have here assembled?

We have already prepared a Declaration of the Independence of Georgia, which will now be read.

The Presiding Officer reads the Declaration of the Independence of Georgia:

Act of Independence of Georgia

The Georgian National Council, during its plenary sitting of May 26, 1918, declared as follows:

"For several centuries Georgia existed as a free and independent State.

Bucharest, Teheran, Madrid, the Hague, Kiev, Stockholm, Christiania (Oslo), and Copenhagen. After this, the independence of Georgia was proclaimed (See *ibid.* pp. 330-331).

At the end of the eighteenth century Georgia voluntarily allied herself with Russia, with the stipulation that the latter should protect her from enemies without.

In the course of the great Russian revolution conditions arose which resulted in the disorganization of the entire military front and the abandonment of Transcaucasia by the Russian Army.

Thus, left to her own devices, Georgia, and with her all Transcaucasia, took into their hands the direction of their affairs creating the necessary organs for this purpose; but under pressure from exterior forces the links which united Transcaucasian nationalities were broken and the political unity of Transcaucasia was thus dissolved.

The present position of the Georgian people makes it imperatively necessary that Georgia should create a political organization of her own, in order that she may escape from the yoke of her enemies and lay a solid foundation for her free development.

Accordingly the Georgian National Council, elected by the national assembly of Georgia on November 22 (December 5), 1917, declares:

(1) In future the Georgian people will hold sovereign power and Georgia will be a State enjoying all the rights of a free and independent State.

(2) Independent Georgia's form of political organization will be a democratic Republic.

(3) In the event of international conflict Georgia will always remain neutral.

(4) The Georgian democratic Republic will apply itself to establishing friendly relations with all nations, and especially with neighboring nationalities and states.

(5) The democratic Georgian Republic offers to all inhabitants of her territory a wide field for free development.

(6) The democratic Georgian Republic guarantees to all citizens within her territory civil and political rights, without distinction of nationality, religion, social position, or sex.

On the 12th of March, 1919, the constituent assembly of Georgia confirmed the preceding act in the following terms:

"At its first sitting of the 12th of March, 1919, the constituent assembly of Georgia, elected by citizens of both sexes, according to the direct, equal, universal, secret, and proportional electoral system, proclaims before the world and history that it fully confirms and approves the act of the independence of Georgia, declared at Tiflis by the Georgian National Council, May 26, 1918".

(7) Until the convocation of the constituent assembly the National Council, with the addition of representatives of the minorities and the provisional government responsible to the National Council, is at the head of all Georgian administration".

The assembly and the audience present listen to the reading of this Declaration, standing. Each article evokes noisy applause. At conclusion of the reading there are long ovations.

After the restoration of silence, on the proposal of the Presiding Officer, the secretary of the National Soviet (Council) goes out on the balcony and reads from there the Declaration of Independence to the people gathered by the Palace. During this reading of the Declaration a guard of honor with two national flags takes its place.

Each statement of the Declaration calls forth enthusiasm and exclamations of delight, applause and ovations from the people.

At the same time in the assembly hall the Vice Presiding Officer, Grigori Veshapeli, on the proposal of the Presiding Officer, reads the Declaration in a Russian translation; the reading is accompanied by the applause and ovations.

After this, the Presiding Officer puts the question whether the assembly is agreeable to the acceptance of the Declaration of the Independence of Georgia.

The National Council unanimously and enthusiastically accepts the Declaration and confirms it without any amendments.

The Presiding Officer asks the members of the assembly and the candidates to sign the Declaration of the Independence of Georgia on the conclusion of the session. After this was elected the Provisional Government.

The Assembly greets with applause and ovations all the persons named.

With the exception of Akaki Chkhenkeli, who is in the peace delegation, all the persons nominated are in the hall. The Ministers take the places of the Government.

The Confirmation of the Government.

On the proposal of the Presiding Officer the Assembly unanimously confirms the list of the Government as presented.

Presiding Officer: Before we begin our legislative work, we must leave in force those laws which now exist and are valid in Georgia including in the number the regulations of the Diet.

The Assembly unanimously accepts this proposition."

The Ukrainian Precedent — 300 Years of Subjugation

In the middle of the 17th century, Ukraine was one of the most free and democratic states. In its social structure it consisted of a military class — the Kozaks, the clergy, peasants and the urban population. The Kozaks were united around the Zaporozhian Sich, which chose for a limited period a Hetman as the head of the state. At the basis of this organization lay the elective principle, which gave every Kozak the possibility of rising and occupying a post in accordance with his personal abilities. The Ukrainians who did not form part of the Kozak army, were agricultural peasants. They tilled the land which was regarded as their property and they enjoyed all those same liberties as the Kozaks.

After falling as a result of the political conditions of the time under the control of Poland, Ukraine was exposed to the efforts of the Polish magnates to limit the Ukrainian freedoms, to introduce into Ukraine serfdom as in Poland and to take for their own property the Ukrainian lands.

This led to a clash between Ukraine and Poland and opened a series of wars for liberation from the Polish exactions. The head of Ukraine was Hetman Khmelnytsky who at first had a great military success but later fortune deserted him. Ukraine found itself in a critical situation, pressed on three sides by Poland, the Khan of the Crimea and the Turkish Sultan. Under these conditions Khmelnytsky decided to appeal for help to the Russian Tsar Aleksyey, who was of the same faith.

Khmelnytsky carried on negotiations with Russia for three years for the conclusion of an alliance on the basis of preserving for Ukraine its sovereignty. The Russians reflected for a long time but at the Zemsky Sobor of 1653, they empowered Tsar Aleksey to take Ukraine under his protection. There was to be preserved to Ukraine all its sovereign rights, including the right of having an independent army, its own relations with foreign countries and full internal self-government. There were limitations only in the field of finances, while Ukraine was guaranteed military help and the integrity of its boundaries. When these conditions were made known, representatives of all classes of the Ukrainian people assembled in January, 1654 in Pereyaslav at a meeting of the Rada and approved the alliance with Russia and swore an oath of loyalty (The present Moscow is now celebrating the anniversary of this).

All the promises of Tsar Aleksey were broken. This began with the fact that the Tsar's envoy

at Pereyaslav refused to take an oath for the Russian Tsar. The assistance on which Khmelnytsky counted was not given in full measure. Russia concluded a peace treaty with Poland at the expense of Ukraine. The internal self-government began to be limited; the efforts of the Polish magnates were replaced by seizures by the Russian landowners. The free life of the peasants was faced with great difficulties by the introduction of heavy taxes and obligations in kind. Slowly but inevitably the political rights of Ukraine were abridged. In spite of the stubborn opposition of the Ukrainian people the process of russification of the state machinery was not stopped; step by step the right of choosing the Hetman was taken away, the Zaporozhian Sich was broken up, all the external signs of national sovereignty were destroyed and finally under Catherine II Ukraine as ordinary provinces (gubernias) was included in the body of the Russian Empire.*)

When at a later period Georgia found itself in the same position as Ukraine 150 years before and also turned to Russia, a nation of its own faith, the latter was still finishing its experiment with Ukraine. The relations between Russia and Georgia began to take shape on the already developed and tested pattern.

The example of Ukraine, although it took place 150 years before the union of Georgia to Russia was identical and the two cases did not differ. Georgia was the oldest Kingdom in the world. In the III cent. B. C. Mamasaklis (the patriarch) of Mtskhet succeeded in unifying the whole of Georgia and becoming tsar of tsars of Georgia. After this for 2100 years until 1801 Georgia had its own tsars. During this long time Georgia had more than one or two foes and several times was conquered by other nations but still Georgia remained Georgia and succeeded in keeping its tsars, and even its conquerors allowed it. Georgia in its two parts, Iberia and Kolchis, was conquered by the Romans in 65-63 B. C. but they did not abolish the Georgian state. The Romans in Iberia and Kolchis left the old system and were satisfied in confirming formally each new tsar and sending him the regalia of his power. The Romans had no army of occupation in Georgia. The Georgians quickly became friends with Romans. Both sides showed the same bravery and chivalry. In 69-70 the Roman Emperor Vespasian Augustus built forti-

*) S. West-East Antagonism in Perejaslavian Alliance, from I. J. Goldman in Ukrainian Quarterly, 1954, I.

fication walls around the Georgian capital of Mtskheta. The inscription of this was preserved and set up in the main square of the city (it is still in the museum). In this the Roman emperor called Mithradates, the tsar of Iberia, and his people the friends of the Roman emperor and the Roman people. The Roman emperor Hadrian (117-136) erected in Rome an equestrian statue of Farsman II on the Field of Mars as a sign of the respect and friendship of the two peoples. This friendly relationship continued for almost four centuries. The old emperors did not try to wipe out the tsardom of Georgia. If they sometimes succeeded in conquering it, they were satisfied with military and economic tribute and they did not touch the religion or the state.

In 643 the Arabs conquered Georgia. The Georgians did not resist their powerful forces for they at once understood the power of the young and fanatical Arab people. The Georgian nobles met them on the frontiers of their country and entered into an alliance without a war. This act of the Georgians did not belittle their values and courage. Such actions of the Georgian rulers often saved their country in difficult situations. The period of Arab rule was one of the severe periods but despite this the Georgians succeeded in saving their state and even uniting all Georgia under the rule of the Georgian dynasty of the Bagratids. When the Arab caliphate weakened, the Georgians freed their country from them.

After this Georgia was for almost two centuries a free, powerful and highly cultured state. In 1237 the Mongols conquered Georgia. What they did is a matter of world history; but yet they left Georgia with its tsars and did not interfere in its domestic situation; they were satisfied with the military and economic aid of the Georgians. This first occupation by the Mongols lasted 90 years. The Mongols came a second time as conquerors under the leadership of Tamerlane at the end of the 14th century. Tamerlane destroyed Eastern Georgia. He did not intend to remove the Georgian tsars but he wished to subject them to his rule and include them in the Mongol empire. Tamerlane did not succeed in accomplishing his objects. Georgia recovered its freedom after the departure of Tamerlane and for about 80 years the Georgian state lived free and quiet. At the end of the 15th century there appeared on the boundaries of Georgia two threatening empires, Persia and Turkey. For almost 300 years Georgia survived the attacks of Persia and Turkey and was more than once devastated by them but, as was not surprising, they did not try to wipe out the Georgian state, but were satisfied with tribute. What these conquerors had not done, Russia did,

when at the beginning of the 19th century, she abolished the tsardom of Georgia and created of its territory two gubernias.

The Georgian — Russian relations call for a close analysis. The Georgian tsars commenced their relations with the Russians in the second half of the 16th century. The only thing which they asked from their powerful Christian neighbor was defence of their faith from the common foe. Unfortunately they did not secure this. In the second half of the 18th century a Russian-Turkish war broke out. In 1768 Empress Catherine II tried to secure as allies the Georgian tsars Irakly II of Eastern Georgia and Solomon I of West Georgia. The Georgian tsars agreed on a military alliance on the condition that Georgia would receive back the lands taken from her by Turkey. Catherine II accepted this condition and sent 4,000 soldiers under the command of General Count Tottleben. The army entered Georgia in 1769. General Tottleben was to join his forces with the Georgians and attack the Turks. The Georgians were ready for military operations but unfortunately Gen. Tottleben began to act not as an ally but as a conquerer. He haughtily looked down at the Georgian tsars, took no part in the military discussions and did not improve the military discipline or morale. Finally he agreed to a battle against the Turks in 1770; but on the eve of the battle he led off the Russian troops and left Tsar Irakly with a small force to meet an enemy five times more numerous. Irakly did not lose his head but with surprising bravery in the village of Aspindza, he attacked the enemy, broke him and almost destroyed him. Gen. Tottleben cynically laid the blame upon the Georgian tsars and denied his own fault. In turn the tsar Irakly gave a true account of the battle and demanded the court martial of Gen. Tottleben as a traitor and betrayer of his friend.

Catherine II did not listen to the request of Tsar Irakly II and thus protected the loathsome traitor. This episode is like another which took place in 1723. Then Russian emperor Peter I, made a treaty for military operations against Persia with the Georgian tsar Vakhtang VI but turned his armies and left the Georgian tsar without help, as a result of which Tsar Vakhtang and his associates were compelled to emigrate to Russia. Vakhtang hoped that the Russians would restore him to the throne on which the Persians had placed their partisan Jese Bagration. This hope of Vakhtangs did not count to pass. Irakly II also hoped for Russian aid in spite of Tottleben's treachery. When peace was made at Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774, the Empress Catherine very indifferently abandoned

Georgia. Georgia not only received nothing but was left in a very difficult situation.

Finally the political rapprochement of Georgia and Russia came in 1783, when the fortress of Georgievsk (in the North Caucasus,) on July 24, a Russian-Georgian treaty was signed between Catherine II and Irakly II. Under his treaty Georgia voluntarily came under the protection of Russia. Russia promised to defend the Georgian state from its enemies and not to interfere in its internal and church affairs. In foreign affairs Georgia and Russia would cooperate and throne was to pass to the descendants of Tsar Irakly. The supreme power of Russia was shown in the fact that it was to invest with power each new tsar on his accession. Georgia for its part promised military and economic aid to Russia and a free trade rout to the Near East and India.; **in a word the Georgian-Russian treaty of 1783 did not wipe out the Georgian state and Georgian remained completely independent except in foreign policy.**

How did Russia fulfill its obligations under the treaty? In 1795 Russia did not give any help to Georgia. The Persians destroyed Tiflis and Georgia was defeated. Only after the withdrawal of the Persian did Russian troops arrive, but it was already to late. In 1798 on Jan. 11 the 80 year old Irakly II died and to the throne came his descendant George XII.

The Russians did not succeed in interfering with the reign of Geogre XII though they ardently desired to do so, but they were able always to hamper and disturb the members of the royal family of Georgia. They noticed that King George was a sick man and often was unable to devote himself entirely to the affairs of state. They hoped that the days of the Tsar were numbered and they prepared for his death. George himself also knew his condition and tried to learn how sincere Russia was toward Georgia and how far it was inclined to carry out the conditons of the Treaty of 1783. Tsar George had the intention also, while he was still alive, to guarantee to his descendants the Georgian throne. So in October 11, he wrote the Emperor, Paul I, that the promise had been given that his heirs would be protected in their full right to rule Georgia and that no one from outside would have the right to interfere in the work of the administration and that no one could give orders to the nobility and the tsar's subjects, except the tsar. Emperor Paul answered George and assured him that "in accordance with the Treaty he recognized George XII as Tsar of Georgia and David, his son, as his successor". Tsar George was satisfied by the answer of the Emperor and considered the Emperor's promise sufficient.

In November, 1800, Tsar George became seriously ill. His heir, David, seeing the serious condition of the Tsar, began to administer the oath to the population of loyalty to himself and he began to prepare for his own accession to the throne. He spread the report through the entire country that his dying father had called him his associate. With this in mind David wanted to test the realibility of the acts of the Russians. Before he died, Tsar George sent again a letter to Petersburg and in this he repeated the chief terms of the Treaty, the security of the sovereignty of Georgia. This letter was handed to Emperor Paul on November 14, 1800. Instead of answering Tsar George, Paul on the next day after he received the letter issued an order to the Commander — in-Chief of his Caucasian mission, General Knorring, in which he said among other things: "The condition of the health of Tsar George gives us the reason to think of his speedy decease, and so after his death do not allow without the permission of the Emperor any one to take the Georgian throne." In this way, the Emperor himself broke the promise which he had given to Tsar George XII that he would support George's son David as his successor! In a supplemental order Paul ordered Knorring to take the army nd immediately occupy Georgia. Gen. Knorring acted and obeyed the Emperor's order and immediately commanded the commander of the Russian army in Tiflis, Gen. Lazarev, to allow no one to take the throne after the death of the Tsar. This was on December 2, 1800. At this time the fate of Georgia was decided in the Russian Senate which finally decided to take over Georgia. On December 18, there was prepared an Imperial Manifesto on the annexation of Georgia and on December 22, Emperor Paul signed this manifesto with his own hand. Six days later on December 28, George XII, the Tsar of Georgia, died. Thus the destruction of the Georgian throne actually took place during the lifetime of Tsar George!

After the death of the Tsar, Gen. Lazarev by force stopped the heir from taking the throne and issued the Manifesto on the annexation. At the same time Gen. Knorring with a considerable army occupied Georgia. On January 20, 1801, Emperor Paul issued an order "I wish that Georgia become a gubernia subject in its type of civil administration to the Russian Senate, and in the spiritual realm to the Russian Synod. Let there be as governor a person of the Georgian royal family, but one who s fully loyal to the Russian control" (Al. Dubrovin, *History of the War*, Vol. III, p. 359). The heir David was appointed governor. He was greatly disappointed but he accepted the post for the moment in the hope that he could later se-

cure a change in the Emperor's order. However there came then the tragic end of the life of Paul I and Alexander I succeeded him. The heir David, without delay, appealed to the new Emperor with a request to restore him to the rank of Tsar and to carry out the contents of the treaty of 1783. Alexander I did not wish to decide this question personally and again presented it to the Senate for consideration. The Senate for a second time gave the same decision and confirmed the annexation. After this the old Tsar's son David was removed from the governorship and a Russian governor was appointed to succeed him. David became more angry and appealed to the Emperor and demanded his restoration to the throne. In August, 1801, Emperor Alexander for the third time asked the Senate to reconsider the Georgian question. For the third time the majority of the Senate showed themselves in favor of the annexation of Georgia against the opinion of the Emperor, Count S. R. Vorontsov, Count Kochubey and Prince Chartorvsky. These preferred to observe the Treaty of 1783.

On September 12, 1801 Emperor Alexander I proclaimed the full authority of the manifesto for the annexation of Georgia. In this way Russia in one blow removed the very ancient Georgian Tsardom and turned Georgia into a simple gubernia. Later Russia abolished all nationalistic

elements, exiled all the members of the royal family of Georgia, the Bagratians, from the country and sent the leaders of the nobles who opposed this to Siberia. By the annihilation of the Georgian tsardom, Russia committed an act of treachery and injustice which had not been committed by the Mongols, either Genghis Khan or Tamerlane, or any other terrible eastern despots, who had contented themselves merely with a military and had not touched the internal order.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 probably would have changed the situation in both Ukraine and Georgia. But the Russian democracy was not capable of life and was replaced by Bolshevism in its cradle.

The Bolsheviks for reasons of propaganda, during the first period of their control, declared themselves the defenders of the rights of all nationalities. Gradually they modified the principle of national self-determination into the formula "national in form but socialist in content". But even this formula did not satisfy the Communists. They adopted the path indicated by Tsar Aleksyey, Empress Catherine and their successors. Both Ukraine and Georgia received on paper the name of independent National Republics, but they were deprived of all rights and were declared inseparable parts of the new Bolshevik Empire.

Dr. G. A. Kobachidse

THE VOICE OF ARMENIANS

To the appearance of our paper, **Our Path**, not only the Georgian emigration but that of other countries reacted with extraordinary kindness. We must especially mention the greeting of the great neighbor of Georgia, the Armenians who devoted to it a complete editorial of their organ. Their newspaper praised not only its technical side but also the idea which the Georgian patriots expressed on the day of the restoration of the independence of their country. This feeling our Armenian friends have again and again confirmed in approving the idea of Georgian-Armenian solidarity which is so necessary for the existence of both countries. For 2700 years the Georgians and Armenians have been living side by side. During this long period they have written in history many splendid pages which speak clearly of the friendship and brotherhood of the two peoples. Their common enemies have often tried to embitter their relations and to create ill feeling between them but they have never succeeded in their object — the friendship of the Georgians and the Armenians has remained throughout the centuries. This friendship has been the reason why Georgia

and Armenia have passed through dangerous times and at the present moment continue to exist with full energy and ability to live. The friendship of the two peoples is a pledge for the future, since without this friendship we can hardly imagine a strong and free Caucasus. Armenia has always played an important and positive role in the history of Georgia and the Caucasus as Georgia and the other Caucasian peoples have played the same role in the history of the Armenian people. The historical well-being of the Caucasus and Georgia has meant a great deal for the Armenians. The great role of the Armenians in the history of the culture and civilization of Georgia and the Caucasus and our future happiness depends upon the brotherly union of these peoples.

Mutual confidence, mutual inseparable aspects of their national culture, the growth of every people without falsification, slander and abuse of their national heroes and leaders and the closeness of the historical territories of the Caucasian peoples is the basis of the friendship of the Caucasian peoples in the future. We are firmly



convinced that at the present time the Armenian people have the same idea and that they handle their national cause as reasonably and carefully as did their great ancestors. The Armenian people must be confident in the feelings of the Georgians for their people. The Georgian people as a hospitable and friendly people, know they have shown this again and again in the past in their actions and that they will not depart from this path in the future.

Our editors sincerely thank the editors of "Hairenik Weekly" and hope that together in the future we may continue our traditional friendship, Georgian-Armenian friendship in practice and on the pages the national development. Long live the great Armenian people and the noble Armenian patriots!

S. Gashonia
G. Gogoberidse

**EDITORIAL FROM "HAIRENIK WEEKLY",
NOVEMBER 19, 1953.**

HEROIC GEORGIAN PATRIOTS

In the common fight against Communist tyranny every new ally, no matter how modest, is a contribution to the forces of freedom. Such a welcome reinforcement is the appearance of a new American publication, "Our Path," the official organ of anti-Communist patriotic Georgians of the United States. "Our Path" is a Georgian publication, bimonthly (the first issue, June-July, 1953), mimeographed in Georgian letters, and with an English introductory section in print. It is an attractive periodical of 50 pages, double column, beautiful paper, and clean type. The editing and the form are excellent. For a first issue, "Our Path" is a most reassuring beginning.

As the title indicates, "Our Path" is an affirmation of a policy on the part of a handful of heroic Georgians in the United States who, in spite of tragic excommunication of their fatherland at the hands of the Bolsheviks during the past thirty-three years, are making a valiant effort to vindicate the name of their country by taking an unequivocal stand in the present world conflict on the side of the freedom loving nations of the world, and by direct inference, with the United States of America. The allegiance of the sponsors of "Our Path" is decidedly with freedom's forces.

"Our Path" is definitely anti-communist, and

with equal force it is patriotic and democratic. One cannot escape the sense of mortification and boundless humiliation which runs through its pages at the bitter realization that the architects of the Soviet structure, the greatest executioners of the century, Stalin and Beria, were Georgians. This was not the fault of the Georgian people, but it was their misfortune, we are made to feel. — an appeal which can only evoke our profound sympathy. Stalin and Beria were renegades for all true Georgians and their accident should not be imputed to the good Georgian people.

That the overwhelming majority of the people of Georgia are enduring the Soviet regime contrary to their will and under duress is made plain by a brief resume of the past thirty-three years in which the Georgian people rose off the foreign yoke each attempt of which was ruthlessly suppressed in a blood bath.

Dedicated to the cause of complete emancipation from the Soviet rule and the restoration of Georgia's lost independence, committed to a future free and democratic Georgia which shall be moulded on the American pattern, "Our Path" launches on the high seas with the avowed intention of enlightening the Georgian expatriates of the United States in regard to the plight of the homeland, of arousing in them the urge and the zeal to close ranks with the freedom-loving nations to carry the psychological war to the gates of Moscow, and to accelerate the day of the fatherland's liberation.

Attention is called to the fact that the Soviet-bound peoples, including Georgia, will never be able to liberate themselves unless aid comes from the outside world and unless the pursuit of the emancipatory struggle is directed by patriotic leaders who live in the security of the free world. This is the justification of the creation of "Our Path" and the group of patriots who stand behind it.

Indeed, in view of the woeful limitations which accompany this courageous enterprise, one cannot resist a feeling of admiration for a handful of persecuted expatriates (not more than a few hundreds at the most) who, without funds, without material resources, and without numbers, even without printing facilities and forced to resort to a mimeograph machine, have launched such an imposing and attractive organ to keep the torch of freedom burning in Georgian hearts.

The Hairenik Weekly congratulates the Georgian expatriates on such a distinguished achievement and wishes them godspeed in their noble venture.

A Short Survey of the Georgian Press

At the beginning of World War II the Georgian emigration had many publications of various political and cultural trends. During World War II many Georgian publications ceased. At the end of the war the situation of the Georgian emigration became much worse. Unfortunately at that time the Western world did not stop the friendly relations with Moscow which they had had during the war; the demands of Moscow were almost unconditionally fulfilled; there were cases when there were delivered to Moscow political emigres. Thanks to this the Georgian emigres did not think of publishing anything but tried to hide. The only group small and unprincipled, that did, wished to approach the occupation and work with it. This insignificant group, barely 2% of the emigration, appeared among the Georgians. In 1946 there appeared with the consent of the French government and with the material help of the Soviet government a newspaper "Zveni sakme" — Our cause — of which the editor and initiator was a certain Meunargia. The paper frankly advocated a return to the native land and a reconciliation with the Soviet regime. The pages of this newspaper often contained threats and evidences of manipulation.

In spite of this the Georgian emigres held firmly and the newspaper stopped with the return to his country of the editor and a small number of collaborators (1947). A few refused to go for they saw the hypocrisy of the Soviets but the larger part went on — to Siberia.

Around 1948 the picture changed. The Western world finally became hostile to Communism because its aggressive policy really was shown; after this there appeared from hiding places the Georgian emigrants and they began to edit their journals and newspapers. Since then the following have appeared:

1. "Bedi Kartlisa". — (The Fate of Georgia), responsible editor Kalistrat Salia, a collection of 32 pages—a fine publication and is a historical, literary and scientific journal. The first number came out in the July, 1948 in Paris.

It was the first Georgian publication after the war, if we except the "Zveni Sakme". This collection was published by the subscribers and donors. It had a great influence on Georgian groups. With this publication there cooperated the well-known figures; Prof. Michael Tsereteli, the well known linguist and political figure; the writer, poet and philosopher Grugory Robakidze, the publicist and former editor of Georgian publications before the war in Georgia — Gregory Diassamidze, the young historian and doctor of

medicine Givi Kobachidze; the protoierey theologian Michael Tarhnishvili; and the professor of theology Shalva Vardize etc.

II. "Mamuli" (Fatherland) a journal of history, literature and culture. Editor — Doctor V. Nozadze. This appears in March, 1951 in Buenos Ayres (Argentina). Beside the editor there collaborated the well known writers Tamar and Akaky Papava, Dr. Vakhtang Zizishvili — student of art, and others. This had 32 pages and was a fine edition. It was published at the expense of individual donors.

III. "Sahalho Sakme" — (National Cause) a collection of history, literature and publicistics. Responsible editor — Akaky Papava. It appeared in 1952 in Buenos Ayres. A fine publication.

IV. "Zveni drosha" — (Our Banner) a political organ of the Georgian Soc. Democratic Party. This came out in Paris in February, 1949. It had 48 pages and was published well. Collaborators — the former President Noy Jordania (d. Jan. 11, 1953), the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia Evgeni Gueguetskhori; the former Minister of Finance of Georgia Konstantine Candelaki; the former envoy of Georgia in Europe Akaky Tchenkeli; Gr. Ouratadse a well known political figure; Konstantin Gvardjaladse — Secretary of the Georgian Social Democratic Party; Paul Sardjuladze, — Editor of the journal; Tarasi Tsouladse — Secretary of the Georgian government, etc. It was published by gifts of donors.

V. "Mebrdsoli Sakartvelo" — (Fighting Georgia), organ of the Georgian National Council. Responsible Editor — Nic. Ouroushadse. The 1st number appeared in the beginning of 1952 in Paris. The collection appeared monthly and was financed by the "American Committee" until the end of 1953. It appeared according to the amount of material. It had 32 pages and was well edited. Collaborators were the former Minister of National Education Noy Zinzadse; the former Minister of Justice R. Arsenidse, etc.

VI. "Iveria" — organ of the National-Democratic Party. This appeared in Paris in 1949. Responsible editor E. Pataridze. It appeared irregularly by the gifts of donors. Collaborators Alexander Asatiani (d. Dec. 28, 1953). R. Gabashvili — a talented journalist and a well known political figure, etc. It contained 56 pages and was edited satisfactorily.

VII The newspaper "Sakartvelo" — (Georgia), Responsible editor Artshil Metreveli — a well-known editor, professor of the Georgian Language in the University of Munich, Germany. The paper came out in September, 1950 as the organ of



Georgian culture and politics. It was paid for by donors.

VIII. The newspaper: "Sakartvelos damoukidebloba" (Independence of Georgia). Responsible Editor R. Gabashvili — Organ of the Georgian Political Centre. This appeared in Paris in May, 1951. Published at the expense of donors.

IX. The "Eris Dideba" (Glory of the Nation), Responsible editor A. Manvellshvili. Organ of politics and history. The 1th number appeared in Paris in the middle of 1953. Published by the gifts of donors.

X. "Kartveli eri" — (The Georgian Nation). A newspaper in Georgian and Spanish. The 1st number appeared July 15, 1953 in Madrid, organ of the Georgian traditionalists. Published by the gifts of donors. Fine edition. Responsible editor Prince Irakli Bagrationi.

XI. "Znobis furzeli" — (Information Sheet). The 1st number appeared in February, 1953 in New York. Organ of the "American Council for Independent Georgia, Inc." Responsible editor Dr. Givi Kobachidze, M. D. Published according to the material by the same organization. This was the first publication in Georgian in the USA.

XII. "Zveni Gza" — Our Path). A journal in Georgian and English. Organ — American Council for independent Georgia Inc., Responsible editor Dr. Givi Kobachidze. The 1st number appeared in June, 1953. It contained 64 pages and was well edited and paid for by the organization.

XIII. The Voice of Free Georgia. A journal in English. The 1st number appeared in January, 1953 in 32 pages. Well edited. The name of the editor is no given but the staff which edits it are: the following collaborators — A. Tsomaja, D. Sindjkashvili (Sindikeli), M. Kvitashvili, etc. This is the 1st. journal in English in the USA edited by Georgians.

XIV. "Vyera, Nadezhda, Lyubov"-Faith, Hope Love. A journal in Russian, edited in Munich. Responsible editor — Protoierey Fr. Alexander Demetra (shvili) — This is the organ of the Georgian Orthodox Church in Munich. It is supported by the Georgian Church. The 1st number appeared January 15, 1950.

Thus the Georgians outside their country have published 14 works. All have the democratic platform and defend the idea of the independence of Georgia. They are all definitely anti-Communist.

V. Abaszidze
A. Souhan.

This is the gist of a letter sent by Vladimir Arvalidze in the name of our organization and its officers to Hon. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State USA, September 28, 1953. — Mr. Dulles

read it with interest and gave it to his associates for appropriate distribution. (Printed in a Summary).

"Addressing the Convention of the American Federation of Labor on September 24th you gave an impressive picture of the purchasing power the average workers have in the USA and in communist USSR.

However the comparison seems to be, the reality was and still is worse in the USSR. It will interest you, I hope, to have information from first hand.

I am a former Soviet slave, now enjoying the freedom in this country. My native country — Georgia, the homeland of Stalin, where for many years I was a teacher in Batoum, the important Black Sea port. I have experiences of my own and these of my nearest relatives, friends and acquaintances and my data of living conditions there are beyond any doubts.

There is in the USSR a categorie of workers, which is forgotten and never mentioned in this "socialistic" called State: these are the unskilled workers, the night-watchers, cleaners and non-graduated nurses. Their wages are not higher than 60-65 roubles; they have to work 48 hours in order to buy one pound of butter or 12 hours for one quart of milk.

I remember exactly how my co-workers in the Teachers Institute, Batoum, employed as house cleaners (Macharadse, Lobjanidse, Litsar, Tchichladse, Tsyboulnik) and working 16 hours a day were constantly hungry and could not afford the simplest necessary clothes.

The American People can not imagine that the workers must stand in long lines to buy bread, sugar and salt in small rations; that in tumult are pushed, beaten to death, treatend by the Soviet police as they were wild animals.

How can the American people believe the story that 40 Kolchos-girls, who asked for kerosen (there is no electricity in the village Tchaganis), a small ration of one ltr. pro family, were all punished and the teacher Lejava, who wrote the petition, and the oldest girl were deported to Siberia.

The picture of suffering can not be complete if the housing conditions are not mentioned. In that land of "equality and social justice" an entire floor apartment (Batoum, 18 Roustaveli Str.) is occupied by a family of 3 of Communist bureaucrat, and in the same house on another floor of the same size — 8 families are living, consisting of 40 peoples. They claim they know no race discrimination but they did not find a decent room for a Negro-family of six..."

Editor-in-Chief Dr. G. A. Kobachidze



XX

չորն ռզնցմանն Յամիճրոնհարցոմըն
մոնն Յրոմհաճոյրո ճրցմահրոմոճան
սեցո մըհոմըրո զյցցնցննն մոմահո,
եորո ցն մեմիճնցրոմն Յահրորոն
ըս Յամհազրցմըրո մոնն Յրոմհաճո-
յրո մոցյանրոմոտ ըս սմցմըրո-
ծոտ.

Բանբմլնցմըրո յնթո զոցոտ, որմ
չսգչսնոս ըս մոնն Յրոմհաճոս ցց-
ըս չսգչսնոյրցմն չսնթնթ ոցոնն,
մամհամ մոննց սաճորոնս մցցեոտ
սճ Բջջնի զյցցննն ոմ Յրոմհաճոյր
ռզնցմընն, հոս մոնն սամեցրոմ ըր-
նցմոտս շրոճնրոցմն Քանմոսըմնն.

Յրոմհաճոյրո չսգչսնոս Քանմո-
սըմնն Մսզո ըս չսնճոնն ճրցմոնն
ժորոնն մոլմցյըրո սոցրցցն, հոմըրոն
Բրրոլրոցո սահրոզհո զնոմըրոն մը-
ոնհոց շրոմոն զյցոտոս Նաբրո, մը-
ոնհոց մանոնն ըս մըոնհոց ըրոնն
զյցոտոս Նաբրո. սամեհոտ սահրոզհոն
Քանմոսըմնն սոցրոցրոն, սոմեց-
ոտոնս ըս սմցմըրոչսնն հոնճըրո-
չսոտ սամեհոտ սահրոզըմն.

Սամեցրոմ մոլմցըմոտոս ռզո-
սահրոնոտ զնոմըրո ըմցմնթանըր
ըս մոլըմոմըրո չսգչսնոս Բրրոլրո-
ցոմընն ոճրոլըմն չսգչսնոմոնն մո-
չսոն մոսմընեոլրոտ ըս մոն, ժորոն
Յոթըրո, Բրրոլրոցո չսրոցմնոտ.
չսգչսնոմոնն մոսչոն մոսմընեոլրո
ոթցմոս Մսզո ճրցոնն Յոճորնցմը
զյոսճ սնոճսնոտն(Նոյրոմոննոննչոն
հոոմոնն), ոնոմնթ մոնոթցն սամե-
հոտ սրմոնսզրցմոնսչցն ըս ռզը-
մնս սճմըրոնն Նոնցոնըմըմըրո
(Յոթոն հոոմոն). մոն յմարըն
Քնրոլրոն Քանմոսըմնն ոսրոմըն
մթչոնցարո - 56 33 մըլոնն սոմ-
ըրոնս ճրցոնն ըրոմըն. մոցըն սմ
մոսմընեոլրո մարոնն մեոլրո

ցլցոնն սալըմը մնո: 1) Մսզո
ճրցոնն Յոնթըրոցո մոցմոնն ըսնսզրո
չսրոցմնց. 2) Նոնըմ-Յոթարոճոմոնն-
չոնն մնո մըլոմոնն յրըրըցեոլրոտ.
3) զյոտոնոն-ոնն-սրոմոննն մնո
մամոնոնն յրըրըցեոլրոտ. 4) Ոնցոնն
սամեցրոմ մնո հոչոնն յրըրըցեոլրոտ,
5) Սոցրոցրոնն սամեցրոմ մնո
մըլոլրոնն յրըրըցեոլրոտ ըս ըրոն-
սոնն երոմոտ ըս 6) Չսնճոնն ճրցոնն
Յոնթըրոցո չսգչսնոմոնն սրմոնսզր-
ցոտ չսրոցմնոտ.

սմ ցլցոնն մնոնն ճորոցըրո ել-
ոտ ըս մոտո յրըրըցեոլրոմն սոց-
ոցրոնն շրոմըրոնոսոցը ոմոցոց-
մոնն. յրըրըցեոլրոտ սոմարըր մը-
ցոմնն 3132-2345 մըլոնն Մյոս.

մոցըրո չսգչսնոմոնն մոսմը-
նըրո Քանմոսըմնն ոլըսըրո սոց-
րցցն մոնոնն, ճորոցոյրոն մոմըրոմ-
նոտոնն ռզոսոցչոնն մոմոնն. մոնն
մոմըրոցմոտո մամըրոմնս ըսնսզր-
ոննսոցոնն ոտոլմոնն յսնոմոնն. սմ-
ոց ըրոնն սնցմըրո մարոննս. սմ-
ոցըմնոնն սոմըրոցմնն մըլոլրոցո
մարոննչոնն ըս Բրրոլրոցոնն մո-
մոնն յրըրըմնոտ չորոնն սոցրոցմոյրո
մոլըրըմնոտ մարոմնն մարոնն.

չսգչսնոնն սամեցրոմ ոնթորոն-
նո սոն սոնցմոմնն մամարոտո սմ
յրըրըցեոլրոցմոնն մոմըրոտ մոննննս.
ոցո ոնն մըմոննցցոս մըրոնսրըմըրո
մարոմնն մոցըրո չսգչսնոմոնն զյըրոն
մարոննչոնն, մամոնն ոնոցը մըմ-
ոննցցոսմո յրըրըցեոլրոցմոնն յմոմը-
րոնն ոցչնցն ըսնսզըմըրոն: սոնցը-
րոնն: չսգչսնոմոնն զյըրոն սամեհո-
տոնն Բրրոլրոցոննսչցնցն ցոնցը
մարոննչոնն Բրրոննն սոննն սոնց-
ըմնս Բջջըմ ըս Նըմըրոնն 1223
թըրո, հոցոնն ոնոնն ճորոցըրո մ-
մոննըմնցն հոյցոմոն. մըրոցը 1921

XX

Նիւտոն, որմ Տալանտըրո Յր ըս-
նմորՆորս ուս, որմորս Մորս! Գն
Նումանտըրստան սերոս. միմնոնցն
որմ Ֆամոզսմորոտ, սմ մուզըրմոն
ցրտո Յսլոյո ճիցն. տըմորըրմոն
Տամցրոտ Յրնճրալոր Յոնոցոս Յս-
ցոսնոս Քանմոսըմոն. Գն մոս Յս-
նմոս Գնմորս ըս տոչոնցնորս Ժ-
որոնքոս սլ Գրոն Մամնոս մուչո-
րցնոս.

Յսցոսնոն Գն Յնմոնցն Գրոն
սնոս ուսլորոնսմո տանքոտան ոն-
րցնոն ոնոտ, որմ մոն Նրորոց-
տոտ մըմոն Գն Յորոցո Նոչոս
Նըրնոս Տանրըմոն Մոնորոս ըս
նըմոնքոս սնոս Մոնմոնոն ոնոն
որոն Գրոնմոն Ժո Յորոցոն ըս
մորոցնոն Նոսոսմո.

.....

Ըրոն մոցրո Յսցոսնոն ոնոց-
ցնո Տամոնոս Յսցոնոն Նըմոն,
որմըրոս Քանմոնոն Մորոցոս ըս
Մորոցոն ոնոնորոն Մոր Տանրըմոն
Քոցոն մոցրո մոնոցրոն ըս մոն
ուսլորոնսմո. Ըրոն մոնոս մոնոնոն
մոնոն Քանմոնոն սնոն որմո-
րմոց Մորոն, սնոնսմո սն Յրոնոն-
մոն, Նըմոն Ֆամոն, սնամըր մոն
Մորոն մոցրոն մոնոցրոն ըսմորՆո-
րցնո. սլ սնոն ոնոն ոնոն մոնոն-
ոնցն, ոնոս սմ Տոչոնոն Մոցո
ըսլորոն ոցո „Յցքի ըրոնոն“
Մորոցոն. Տոչորոն սրոնոնոն
ցրտո մուզըրմո. մոնոցրոն ըրոցոն-
ըրոն Յոնոնցն ոնոց ըսլորոնքոս,
որմ, տո սնոնցն Յորոցոն մո-
նոնոնցնոն տան ըս Յսցոնոն
ըսլորոն Տամոնոն սոնոն, մոնոն
Գրոնոն ըս Յսցոնոն ոնոն
Յրոնոն ոնոցոն Մորոն մոցրո մոնոն-
ոնցն Գրոնցն ոնոն ոնոն ըս Գ-
-



Գրոնոն Նոնոնցն ըսլորոնցն
մոցրո մուզըրմոն, Յրոնցոն ոնոն
սն ըսլորոն Նոնոնցն Քանմո-
նցն Յրոնցն. Գն ոնոն, որմ
սնոն սրոնոն սրոնոն Նոչոս
Մոնոնցն Գրոնցն Տամոնոն Տան-
ոնցն ըս մոն մոնոն-
սրոնցն մոնոնցն մոնոնցն
Մոնոնցն ըս սլ մոնոնցն ոնոն
Յրոնցն ոնոնոն մոնոնցն. սմո-
ցոն, մոցր ըսնոնցն Գրոնոն-
մոն մոնոնցն մոնոնցն, ոն-
ոնցն ոնոնցն Քանմոնցն, ոն-
մոնոնցն Յրոնցն մոնոնցն ըս Յրոնցն
ըսմոնցնցն Յրոնցն Գրոնցն
մոնոնցն ըս մոնոնցն
Յրոնցն Յրոնցն մոնոնցն.

Գն մոնոնցն սնոն սրոնոնց-
րոն Նոնոն մոնոնցն Յրոնցն
Յրոնցն ոնոնցն մոնոնցն Նոչո-
նոն ըս սմոն Յսցոսնոն Տամոն-
ոն-Յրոնցն մոնոնցն Մոն-
ոնցն սլորոնցն մոնոնցն
Տանցնոնցն.

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Ոն Մոնոնցն սնոնցն
Յսցոսնոն ոնոնցն մոցրոն սմ Նոչո-
նոնցն? Ոնոնցն Մոցոն սրոնոնցն,
Յսցոսնոնցն մոնոնցն ոնոնցն
մոնոնցն մոնոնցն մոնոնցն մոնոնցն
մոնոնցն սրոնոնցն Մոնոնցն
Նոնոնցն Տանցնոնցն ըս սրո-
նոնցն ոնոնցն Գրոնցն մոնոնցն.
Գն Յսլ-
ոն տոչոնոնցն Նոչոնցն սմոնցն
մոցրոն սնոնցն մոնոնցն, Յրոնցն
Տանցնոնցն Նոչոնցն ոնոնցն
ըս ոնոնցն ոնոնցն ոնոնցն ըս Քո-
նոնցն Նոնցն ոնոնցն Յրոնցն
Յրոնցն. ըրոնցն Յրոնցն
մոնոնցն ոնոնցն ոնոնցն մոնոնցն-
սրոնցնցն սնոնցն ոնոնցն

CHRONICLE

The annual meeting of the American Council for Independent Georgia, Inc., took place in New York on Sunday, November 1st, 1953, in Parkside — Hotel. For the next year were reelected the Board of Directors. The members of the Board is as follows: Mr. V. ABASHZIDSE; Mr. L. ARVELADSE; Mr. S. GASHONIA; Mr. G. GOGOBERIDSE; Mr. G. KOBACHIDSE; Mr. V. NANUASHVILI; and Mr. A. SOULHAN (ISHVILI).

At the same meeting was reelected as Editor-in-Chief of the "Our Path" and "Informations Bulletin" Dr. G. A. KOBACHIDSE and as well as Advisory Board: Mr. D. ALAVIDSE; Mr. L. ARVELADSE; Mr. I. J. GOLDMAN; Mr. G. DIASSAMIDSE; Dr. G. KOBACHIDSE and V. NANUASHVILI.